46 469.

ANTICIPATION:

Containing the Substance of

HIS M---------Y's

Most Gracious Speech

TO BOTH

H------S of P----L-----T,

ON THE

Opening of the approaching SESSION,

TOGETHER

With a full and authentic Account of the DEBATE which WILL take Place in the H----E of C------S, on the Motion for the ADDRESS, and the AMENDMENT.

With NOTES.

(First published three Days before the Opening of the Session.)

"*So shall my Anticipation*
Prevent your Discovery." HAMLET.

THE SIXTH EDITION, Corrected.

LONDON:

Printed for T. BECKET, the Corner of the Adelphi in the Strand. 1778.

Advertiſement.

SEVERAL reaſons concurred to urge the Editor to this publication. The critical ſituation of public affairs ſeemed to require an extraordinary diffuſion of political knowledge; yet, in the common courſe, but few of the millions, who are ſo deeply intereſted in the reſult of parliamentary debates, can be admitted to an audience of them. Sometimes, the Members ſhut their galleries againſt the intruſion of any of their Conſtituents; and it is always a ſtanding order, from the opening of the ſeſſion, to prohibit the publication of their debates. Under theſe circumſtances, an authentic account of the firſt day's debate, put forth at this date, will clearly avoid any breach of that order, and, without expoſing the Conſtituents to crowding in the gallery, to furniſh them with their Repreſentatives Speeches, taken down with the ſtricteſt fidelity, cannot but afford them ſome amuſement, and in-

deed real uſe. Beſides, the firſt day's debate is generally a kind of outline of the debates of the whole ſeſſion; ſo that a critical obſerver, by contemplating the buds and ſeedlings of this early eloquence, may calculate what degree of radical ſtrength they poſſeſs, how far they will expand and bloom, and whether they are hardy enough to ſtand the winter.

The Editor cannot but ſeize this opportunity to thank thoſe Gentlemen who have furniſhed him with the *moſt authentic materials* for ſome of the ſpeeches, which, they will immediately ſee, he has copied *verbatim* from their manuſcripts---and he ſincerely hopes, their having appeared in print *before* they are ſpoken, will not deter the ſeveral Gentlemen from delivering them with their uſual appearance of *extempore* eloquence.

November 23, 1778.

THE Gentlemen trading to the Eaſt-Indies, Weſt-Indies. and other parts, who intend taking or ſending thither any pamphlets this ſeaſon, are hereby informed, that this work is authentic, faithful, and ſtrictly impartial; and as the nice and diſcerning eye of the Britiſh iſlands and ſettlements near us, muſt feel an intereſt in theſe matters, good allowance will be given for taking quantities.---Alſo the beſt Dutch wax, and ſtationary wares.

ANTICIPATION, &c.

Dom. Comm. Jovis. 26 Nov. die.

Anno 19° *Georgii III Regis*, 1778.

SIR Francis M———x, gentleman-uſher of the black rod, having, with the uſual ſolemnity, at half paſt two o'clock, given three admonitory raps at the door of the H—e of C——ns, and, being thereupon admitted, having proceeded towards the table, with three progreſſive bows, acquainted the S——r, * that his M——y commanded their immediate attendance in the H—e of L—ds, where ſoon after his M——y delivered his moſt gracious ſpeech to both Houſes; which we ſhould give at length, having an accurate copy now before us, but that many reaſons concur to induce us

* It was obſerved the S———r was remarkable civil to the new Att-rn-y G-n-r-l, as ſuppoſed upon his ſucceeding to that great object of his wiſhes, which leaves Sir F———r ſome chance of a Chief Juſticeſhip and a Peerage.

rather to give a general ſketch of it. It is ſcarcely neceſſary to ſay, that reſpect to that great perſonage is the principal of thoſe motives: It is alſo univerſally felt that the merit of thoſe ſpeeches conſiſts much leſs in the compoſition than in the delivery. Beſides, as an authentic *black letter* copy of *this* ſpeech will infallibly appear, we have too high a reſpect for our good friends Meſſrs. the Hawkers and Criers of this great metropolis, to rob them of any part of the fruits of their annual eloquence on this occaſion——The ſpeech began by ſaying,

" *That the ſituation of public affairs, had induced him to call them thus early together, that they might more fully enter into the various and important concerns which would naturally engage their attention.*

" *That he had reaſon to hope that the ſchemes which the natural enemies of this country, in conjunction with their unnatural allies, had meditated againſt us in the Weſt-Indies, notwithſtanding ſome appearance of ſucceſs, might, under Divine Providence, fail in the object of diſtreſſing the commercial intereſt of his people, which, it gave him ſatisfaction to obſerve, had hitherto continued to flouriſh amidſt the calamities of war, while that of the enemy had received the moſt material injuries.*

That

" *That he could not but behold with particular pleaſure the zeal and ardour ſhewn by all his ſubjects on this emergency, which had fully ſecured the ſafety of this country, and convinced our enemies that every attempt againſt the internal proſperity of Great Britain muſt prove ineffectual.*

" *That he continued to receive the moſt friendly aſſurances of the pacific diſpoſitions of the other powers of Europe.*

" *That his deſire of re-eſtabliſhing the general tranquility could not be doubted; and as he had not been the firſt to diſturb the peace, ſo he ſhould embrace the earlieſt opportunity of putting an end to the horrors of war, whenever that deſirable end could be effected, conſiſtently with the honour of his crown, and the intereſt of his ſubjects, which he ſhould ever be careful to preſerve.*

" *That his faithful C-mm-ns might depend on the proper officers immediately laying before them the eſtimate for the expences of the enſuing year.*

" *That he lamented that the preſent ſituation of affairs ſhould oblige him to call upon his faithful ſubjects for any additional ſupplies, but*

" *That his faithful C-mm-ns might depend on the ſtricteſt œconomy on his part, in the application of ſuch ſums as they ſhould judge neceſſary for the public ſervice, and*

he doubted not they would ſee the expediency of providing for ſuch contingencies as might ariſe from the continuance of war, and the meaſures neceſſary to be taken for the re-eſtabliſhment of peace upon an honourable and permanent foundation.

"*It concluded with relying on the wiſdom and unanimity of Parliament; on the good conduct of his Generals and Admirals; on the valor of his Fleets and Armies; and on the zeal and ſpirit of all his faithful ſubjects.*"

Upon the return of the C—ns to their Houſe, the ſpeech having been read as uſual from the chair, a motion for an Addreſs, conformable to the ſeveral ſentences in the ſpeech, and expreſſive of the firmneſs and unanimity of the Houſe at this important criſis, was made and ſeconded by two young Members; the particular phraſeology of which leading ſpeeches we ſhall not retail, it being univerſally admitted that the rhetoric applied to theſe occaſions, is not very replete with originality. Our readers will eaſily imagine the proper quantity of tropes and metaphors, apologies for inexperience, elegant timidities, graceful bluſhes, ſtudied heſitations, army ſafe at New-York, fleets likewiſe ſafe, individuals enriched, perfect content at home, nothing wanting but unanimity in council, &c. &c. &c. which ornamented and enriched theſe anniver-

anniverſary panegyrics. We ſhall haſten therefore to the more material part of the debate, which commenced by the following ſpeech from Lord G——y*, propoſing the amendment.

Lord G——by, conſcious of my own inability, and ſinking under the ſenſe of my little knowledge or experience, totally unprovided with any ideas for the preſent occaſion, and abſolutely ignorant, not only of the forms but even of the modes of proceeding in this houſe, may I, Sir, in this ſtate of imbecility, be permitted to take the lead on this firſt and moſt important day of the ſeſſion? May I, Sir, all unequal to ſo arduous a taſk, be allowed to dictate, if not to the whole houſe, at leaſt to this ſide of it, the proper and only conſtitutional method of compelling miniſters to furniſh us with the means of diſcovering ſome errors in their conduct; and to enable us to demonſtrate to the nation at large their total incapacity for filling the places which they now hold?—There was a time, Sir, when this ſide of the houſe would not tamely acquieſce in ſo dangerous a precedent as any miniſter's retaining his office for the unconſtitutional duration of ſeven years, Lord G—by.

* Exempli gratiâ, for whether it is his Lordſhip's Speech, or Lord J. C-v-nd-ſh's, or Sir W. M-r-dith's, or Sir G. Y—ng's, &c. the ſubject matter and ſtile, with a few exceptions, is of courſe much the ſame.

Have

Have we forgot, Sir, the great name of Pulteny? Pulteny, Sir! the virtuous Pulteny! Pultney, the wonder of the age! Pulteny, that ſteady Patriot, whoſe Herculean eloquence overcame the Hydra of corruption! or have we forgot, Sir, that ineſtimable character of our own times, whoſe virtues compelled the admiration of this profligate age; whoſe memory excites the veneration of every patriot mind? Let it not be objected that theſe illuſtrious characters were dazzled by the ſplendour of a coronet; I will not anſwer ſuch frivolous remarks:—Sir, I wander from the queſtion: Yet let me remind this Houſe, that thoſe great patriots were ever foremoſt in taking that part which now falls to my lot. They, Sir, were ever ready to awaken the fears, and rouze the apprehenſions, of the Country Gentlemen; and that, Sir, is my object:—They, Sir, compelled Adm-n-ſtr-t--n to diſcloſe the inmoſt receſſes of official iniquity; and that, Sir, that is alſo my intention. Sir, with this view, I ſhall humbly move you, that in place of the preſent Addreſs, which I cannot but conſider, as the ſelfiſh penegyric of Adm-n-ſtr-t--n, immediately after the general expreſſions of reſpect for his M——y, the following words may be ſubſtituted, in order to our acquiring that full and comprehenſive knowledge of public affairs, which

is

is ſo indiſpenſably neceſſary at the opening of this intereſting and important ſeſſion of P-rl--m-nt.

" *Your faithful C-mm-ns, deeply impreſſed with a ſenſe of your M——y's unwearied anxiety to promote the dignity and glory of Great-Britain, cannot but lament the many unhappy circumſtances which have conſpired to diſturb your M——y's happineſs, and to prejudice the intereſts and honour of this country. When we find that the moſt liberal ſupplies for our naval equipments have as yet produced none of thoſe happy effects which might reaſonably have been expected to be derived from ſo powerful an armament, particularly under the direction of an officer of experienced conduct and courage, we cannot but expreſs our ſerious apprehenſions of ſome fatal miſconduct, either on the part of adminiſtration, by forming indeciſive and contradictory inſtructions for the direction of the Navy, or, in the particular department for naval affairs, of ſome miſapplication of thoſe liberal ſupplies, which, if wiſely and faithfully applied, could not have failed, under divine providence, and your M——y's wiſdom, of obtaining the moſt ſalutary effects.*

For theſe reaſons, we, your M——y's moſt faithful C-mm-ns, moſt humbly intreat your M——y to order the proper Officers

to

to lay before the Houſe, Copies of the ſecret inſtructions for the conduct of the Fleet commanded by Admiral K-pp-l——Eſtimates of the quantity of ballaſt uſed in the ſeveral ſhips of the diviſion of the fleet commanded by Admiral K-pp-l——Bills of parcel of the number of ſquare yards of ſail-cloth, together with ſamples of ditto, intended to be uſed in the diviſion of the Fleet commanded by Vice Admiral Sir H-gh P-ll-ſ-r——Succinct accounts of the quota of biſcuits, and ratio of ſalt beef diſtributed in the Fleet——Faithful tranſcripts of the ſeveral Log-Books of each veſſel——Abſtracts of all letters, notes, and meſſages that paſſed and repaſſed, off Uſhant, between the Admirals and Ph-l-p St-v-ns, Eſq. during the courſe of laſt ſummer——And, finally, minute copies of all accounts unſettled or paſſed, open or cloſed, paid or unpaid, between the Commiſſioners of the Navy, and all ſorts of Manufacturers, Sailors, Contractors, &c. &c. &c. employed by them for theſe twenty years laſt paſt—— It is from a minute inveſtigation of theſe important papers, that your M——y's moſt faithful C-mm-ns can alone derive juſt grounds for cenſure or exculpation. And, however laborious this inveſtigation may prove, we, your M——y's moſt faithful C-mm-ns, beg leave to aſſure your M——y, we ſhall moſt readily devote our utmoſt attention

tention to ſo ſalutary a ſtudy, in order to promote a quick diſpatch of public buſineſs at this momentous and aweful criſis, and to give vigour and effect to thoſe meaſures which your M——y, in your great wiſdom, may think neceſſary to ſecure the ſafety, intereſt, and honour of Great Britain."

Such, Sir, is the amendment which I have the honour to offer to the conſideration of this houſe. It will immediately ſtrike you, Sir, that in the accounts which I propoſe to have ſubmitted to the inveſtigation of P-rl--m-nt, I have avoided aſking for one ſcrap of paper, that is not abſolutely neceſſary to be ſeen and thoroughly ſtudied by the Houſe. Should it, however, appear neceſſary to Gentlemen to *add* to the liſt of theſe official documents, I am ſure I ſhall not oppoſe ſuch an improvement to the motion, to whatever quantity it may extend.

Mr. *G--g- S-tt-n* ſeconded the motion for the Amendment, beginning with a ſimilar acknowledgement of his incapacity, his inexperience and ignorance of P-rl--m-nt-ry affairs; declining therefore to enter into any further argument, the ſubject having been diſcuſſed in ſo full and able a manner by his moſt noble couſin. Mr. G-g-S-tt-n.

Mr. *W-l-b-re Ell-s*, in reply, threw out many ſagacious and novel obſervations. He ſaid Mr. W-l-b-re Ell-s.

ſaid that he highly commended the caution and circumſpection of the noble Lord, but, that in his opinion, a more proper time would arrive, about ſix months after Chriſtmas, for entering into the details propoſed by the Amendment; as, at that period, Adminiſtration would certainly have more leiſure for furniſhing the papers now called for.

He very properly obſerved, that ſelecting theſe few curious articles of political intelligence from a variety of miſcellaneous papers, would require ſome ſhort time, together with no ſmall degree of diſcernment, not to mention ſeveral thouſands of extra clerks. He ſaid, he had taken the trouble to make a moſt ſerious inveſtigation into the Journals, the Votes, the Debates, and all the P-rl--m-nt-ry Records of this country; and he was free to ſay, that notwithſtanding it might at firſt appear rather a novel idea, yet it was his opinion, that *The Addreſs* on the firſt day was a matter of compliment. Nay, touching the matter before him, (and weighty and powerful indeed it was) after the moſt mature and ſerious deliberation, daily and nightly, he would for once venture to hazard a rhetorical, a figurative expreſſion, to wit, that the Addreſs was an eccho, as it were, a complimentary eccho, of his M——y's moſt gracious ſpeech.--He hiuted, that, if any

Gentleman

Gentleman wiſhed for particular enquiries, he would, as an old Member, long converſant with the forms of the Houſe, tell him, that certainly a Committee might be appointed to carry on any public enquiry; and he believed ſuch Committees were not unfrequent.--And here he remarked, that from all his reſearches, it apppeared to him, that the conſtitution of this country was of a triple nature---K-ng---L-rds---and C-mm-ns---that, theſe three oppoſite and repelling powers, reciprocally ballanced and counteracted each other; at the ſame time that they contributed to the proportion and harmony of the whole.---He took occaſion to obſerve, that freedom of Debate was clearly a P-rl--m-nt-ry privilege, and he would pledge himſelf to prove that every Member in that Houſe was a repreſentative of his conſtituents.

For theſe reaſons, he concluded with diſſenting from the Amendment as trite, abſtruſe, dangerous, and frivolous.

D-v-d H-rtly, Eſq. * obſerved, that theſe were no times for flattery and empty adula- D-v-d H-rtly Eſq.

* Here Mr. B-mb-r G-ſc—ne headed the dinner troop, which followed him with great precipitation—at the ſame time departed Sir John Irw-n and Mr. S-lw-n, with his Honour Mr. B-rd-n-ll, of whom great enquiries were made reſpecting thepreſent arrangements of the Opera.—No were there wanting many cries for the queſtion.

tion.---For his part, he ſhould enter at large into the riſe and origin of all Colonies, ancient and modern, into the hiſtory of Taxation, and its effects on every ſtate that had exerciſed it over its colonies; and then review the cauſe, commencement, and conduct of the whole American war. He felt how ardous, how complicated a taſk this muſt prove to himſelf, and how difficult for the Houſe to underſtand. That, to leſſen that difficulty, both to the Houſe and to himſelf, he would adopt the moſt logical method to give clearneſs and perſpicuity to ſuch a multitude and diverſity of ideas; and for that purpoſe, he begged Gentlemen to take notice, that he ſhould divide his ſpeech into four and twenty grand diviſions, each of which ſhould contain as many ſubdiviſions, which ſubdiviſions ſhould alſo be ſeparately diſcuſſed in equal number of ſections, each ſection to be ſplit alſo into the ſame number of heads; ſo that with grand diviſions, ſub-diviſions, ſections, and heads, the number of diſtinct propoſitions would amount to ſeveral thouſands; but, that Gentlemen, by attending cloſely, and correctly taking down the number of any particular argument, ſhould inſtantly have an explicit an anſwer to any query touching that individual number: and he flattered himſelf this numerical logic and arithmetic of eloquence

quence would greatly tend to clarify their underſtandings.

To follow this gentlemen thro' even one of his grand diviſions, was a taſk much beyond the utmoſt rapidity of a ſhort-hand writer. Indeed the noiſe from all parts of the houſe was ſo exceſſive, during the ſeveral hours which he engroſſed in this laborious harrangue, that it was totally impoſſible to catch up any thing beyond the mutilated fragments, and ruins of his oratory. At length however the houſe ſunk into a ſudden calm, upon the diſcloſure of a fact, which ſeemed to ſtartle even the wildeſt zealots of faction. — For, after every other argument was exhauſted to ſo little purpoſe, inflamed by diſappointment, and hurried, as we are willing to ſuppoſe, by the violence of patriotiſm, the Honourable Gentleman avowed to the Houſe, that one of his grounds for denouncing ruin to his country was *his private knowledge of* DR. FRANKLYN'S *ſentiments on that head.* * "Dr Franklyn (he exclaimed) the Cromwell of his age, Dr Franklyn, Ambaſſador Plenipotentiary from America to France, is my moſt intimate and moſt cordial friend! ——— He went on by declaring, he had paſſed great part of the ſummer at

* Here Sir GR-Y C—P-R caught at a pen, and began to take notes.

Paris

Paris, with Dr Franklyn, in the moſt unreſerved communication of ſentiments and facts; and he concluded with repeating, as the joint reſult of his own and Dr Franklyn's deliberationthat the glory of England was deſtroyed for ever!—This extraordinary confeſſion produced however no violent effect. Miniſters ſeemed to receive it with a contemptuous pity, not unmingled with ridicule, * when Mr W——s finding the little ſucceſs of ſerious treaſon, roſe, and indulged himſelf in the more ludicrous ſtile of it.

Mr. W-lk-s. Mr. *W——s* ‡ adverted with ſome degree of humour to the inference of victory and triumph which might be deduced from the return of our Generals and our Admirals, and one of our Commiſſioners too. They

* Probably, from ſuppoſing the firſt origin of their connection to have ariſen (at leaſt on the part of Dr. Franklyn) from a philoſophical rather than a political curioſity. And certainly, no two projectors in Science were ever more ſtrikingly contraſted: the one, like a modern Prometheus, collecting fire from vapour to inflame the terreſtrical maſs by its pernicious infuſion: the other employing his magic *plates* to freeze its ardour and quench its malignity.—Happy for this country, if theſe profeſſors had ſhifted their purſuits! as the former, could his inclinations have been propitious to the peace of mankind, might then have become a powerfull *Extinguiſher*, while the other, however malignant his intentions, muſt always have been acknowledged an *innocent* Incendiary.

‡ The Editor was furniſhed with copies of this ſpeech from the Printers of the reſpective News Papers, many weeks ago.

found

found (he ſaid) that being on the ſpot interrupted their manœuvres, and he ſuppoſed they were come three thouſand miles off to act *cooly*. That, the object they were ſent to accompliſh was confeſſedly a great one; and it is well known, that objects of a certain magnitude are beſt contemplated at a diſtance. Probably their optics were too tender to diſtinguiſh with accuracy amidſt the ſmoak and confuſion incident to actual engagements; or perhaps, they reflected on the more imminent dangers of domeſtic invaſion, and haſtened home from pure patriotiſm to guard their native country. — At any rate, he muſt compliment their diſcernment in purſuing a line of conduct, which could not fail of conciliating the good opinion and ſympathetic regard of the Noble Lord, who preſided in the American department. " If therefore, Mr Speaker, by any miraculous change, I were, this day, to become the Advocate of Adminiſtration, I ſhould mark the inutility of recurring to the written evidence, which the Amendment calls for, at a moment when we are ſo copiouſly provided with *viva voce* teſtimony. Yet, Sir, I do not think, upon reflection, that Miniſters will adopt this ground for rejecting the Noble Lord's Amendment. They, Sir, will more boldly tell you—you ſhall have neither,—for, in theſe times, it is the faſhion for all modern

modern Stateſmen, firſt to tell their own ſtory, and then proteſt ſolemnly againſt being croſs-examined---*or directly, or indirectly, anſwering queſtion, query, or otherwiſe.* I believe I am accurate in my quotation.---I am not indeed ſurpriſed at theſe declarations of obſtinate ſilence --- this Scottiſh policy --- the example was ſet by my good old friend, the E-rl of B-te---for therein I am orthodox in my faith, that the Son is equal to the Father: and I am ſure I may add with Athanaſian zeal, the Father is incomprehenſible, and the Son is incomprehenſible, yet there are not two incomprehenſibles, but one incomprehenſible.

(Here a confuſed cry of order, and the Chaplain reprimanded for laughing.)

There is indeed one North Briton of whom I entertain a better hope.---He ſeems to have caught that itch for liberty, which, to our great wonder broke out in the Highlands laſt ſummer. He, Sir, even in the character of his M——y's Commiſſi-ner, ſollicited the intimacy of *General Waſhington.* But indeed, Sir, if ever a Scotchman can be ſuſpected of loving liberty, it is not when he has recently become a convert to Adminiſtration: *Waſhington* therefore ſent his Excellency, the worthy Commiſſioner, a flat refuſal.--- Mr. *Laurens* too refuſed his Excellency the hearing he ſo generouſly ſollicited by implor-

ing

ing Congreſs, " *not to follow the example of Br--t--n in the hour of her inſolence*;" the *hearing* was however refuſed, nay even the " *ſight of the country*," and " *the ſight of its worthy patriots*" was peremptorily refuſed. The Americans, Sir, think that a Scotchman has neither eyes nor ears for liberty, or, at leaſt, they diſtruſted the capacity of his Excellency's organs for ſuch an object.—I have a letter, Sir, in my pocket from my honeſt friend Ethan Allen; I would read it, but I am ſure you won't let me; He knows I am fond of ſcripture quotations, and tells me Congreſs would have given your Scotch commiſſioner this *hearing*, but they knew " he was like unto the deaf adder, who regardeth not the voice of the charmer."

Let me then trouble his Excellency with one queſtion; who was it ſuggeſted this ſecret correſpondence with the enemy? was it not the Scottiſh ſecretary of this wiſe commiſſion, Dr. Adam Ferguſon? It muſt have been one of Sir John Dalrymple's aſſociates in literature. The Scotch, if they can get no Engliſhman to act, as they pretend to ſay the great Sidney did, will make even their own countrymen treacherous in one age, to furniſh ſome literary aſſaſſin of the next with the foul vouchers of treachery and baſeneſs. At all events, Sir, I ſhall heartily give my vote for the amendment,

as the only means to convict the M-n-ſtry of what I know they are guilty, weakneſs, incapacity, ignorance, obſtinacy, baſeneſs, and treachery.

Governor J-hn-ſ-n.

Governor J-hnſ-n * now roſe, and ſaid every thing that a Gentleman in his melancholy ſituation could be ſuppoſed to urge. Spoke much of the want of candour in putting a falſe conſtruction on his actions, which he could aſſure the Houſe, upon his honour, were all dictated by the beſt intentions; that he ſhould not undertake to enter into a full defence of his conduct at preſent, as it was a very delicate buſineſs, and turned upon a very nice chain of circumſtances. One part of the charges againſt him he would ſlightly touch upon, his letters, and what he ſuppoſed was meant to be hinted at, his attempts of bribery. That the artful policy of France had made it neceſſary for him to parry her attacks by ſimilar weapons; that he believed it was felt and would be admitted by all parts of that Houſe, that there is no greater ſpring of public action, in all political aſſemblies, than *ſelf-intereſt*. That he felt himſelf juſtified in his own mind for every ſtep he had taken, for he would venture to affirm, that

* Gentlemen were here deſired by the Sp—k-r to take their ſeats, and the Serjeant to clear the bar—places! places! was repeated with great vehemence.

in

in every negociation true wiſdom and ſound policy juſtified the moral fitneſs of ſecret articles, and the honourable expediency of powerful temptations. As to the failure of ſucceſs, on the part of the commiſſioners, various cauſes had concurred to occaſion it. They were ſent to treat of peace with a retreating army. Philadelphia, the chief reſidence of the moderate men, and moſt friendly to their negociation, was evacuated by the army, on the Commiſſioners arrival. A little after they had got to New-York, Monſ. D'Eſtaign was upon the coaſt. Theſe circumſtances gave ſpirits to a declining cauſe; and America, *in this hour of her inſolence*, refuſed to treat, unleſs her independence was ſpecifically acknowledged.

"What followed afterwards is a very ſerious buſineſs, indeed; but I truſt I ſhall be pardoned by a noble Lord oppoſite to me, high in character, and in the eſteem of his country, if I freely ſay, as my opinion, that Monſieur D'Eſtaign's fleet ought to have been attacked by the Br-t-ſh at Rhode-Iſland, as ſoon as the French came out of the harbour to fight them. And I will further ſay, conſidering the ſpirit, the galantry, and the heroiſm of the Britiſh Seamen, the inequality of the force of the fleets was not ſufficient to juſtify the not attacking the French fleet, without waiting a length of

time to gain the weather guage, and truſting ſo long as the Engl-ſh fleet did there to an unruly element. Sir, in the actions in the Weſt-Indies, between the Engliſh and French fleets, laſt war, where the former were greatly inferior both in number and weight of metal, the French were beat off and obliged to fly for it. So, in the caſe of the Monmouth, the Dorſetſhire, and ſeveral other inſtances, inferiority in the outſet of the conteſt proved victorious in the end. I will not, however, dwell upon matters which merely depend upon opinion, and upon which the beſt officer in the world may be miſtaken. But, Sir, after the tempeſt at Rhode-Iſland, when the Noble Lord returned to New-York to refit, was not time loſt? the very time that might have been employed in ſeparating D'Eſtaign from Boſton harbour? I might ſay, Sir, in the defeat of D'Eſtaign; for after the arrival of ſome of B-r-n's ſquadron, the Noble Lord was ſuperior to him.—It is a very unpleaſing taſk to ſpeak out, but I cannot avoid giving my opinion as a ſeaman, and as one upon the ſpot, acquainted with the delays in this buſineſs.

Upon the whole, Sir, my opinion, in a very few words is this: The violent and impolitic meaſures of the M-n-ſtry of this country firſt loſt America——the Br-t-ſh army

army might have regained it——and our fleet has loſt more than one opportunity of cruſhiug that of France, upon which American reſiſtance chiefly depended for protection and ſupport.

Lord H-we and *Mr. R-gby* now roſe; but the houſe appearing inclined to give the former an immediate opportunity to reply, Mr. R-gby ſat down, and Lord H-we, in very modeſt yet pointed terms, remarked on the unfairneſs which, he muſt ſay, the Honourable Gentleman who ſpoke laſt, had diſcovered both in the deſign and manner of his ſpeech. That, firſt, to avoid entering into the motives and principles of his own conduct, as being more proper objects for a particular committee of enquiry, and then to launch out into vague and deſultory accuſations of any other perſon, was inconſiſtent, and, he was ſorry to add, illiberal. That whatever prejudices thoſe reflections were intended to create againſt his conduct, he would not then interrupt the buſineſs of the day, and the more general ſubjects of the preſent debate, but truſt to the candour of the houſe for ſuſpending their opinion, until the whole of his conduct might be minutely inveſtigated by a committee appointed for that purpoſe; which committee, he himſelf ſhould be the firſt man in that houſe to ſollicit, nay demand.

Lord H-we.

Mr.

Mr. R-g-by. *Mr. R-gby*,——I ſhould not, Sir, have troubled the houſe on this firſt day, but that I felt it the indiſpenſable duty of private friendſhip, to expreſs my feelings on the happy return of our worthy Commiſſioner, who has given you, Sir, ſo full and ſatisfactory an account both of his principles and conduct—I ſhall not trouble you long, Sir; I riſe only for that purpoſe.——I am ſure there is no Gentleman in this houſe, who more heartily congratulates the worthy Commiſſioner on his unembarraſſed countenance and his good looks. He certainly has paſſed the ſummer very profitably—the voyage ſeems to have improved his ſtock of ſpirits—I think, I never ſaw him appear to more advantage—I own, however, I ſincerely regret the unpoliteneſs of his American friends. After ſuch condeſcending invitations of himſelf, it was not very civil of thoſe Gentlemen to ſend excuſes—If he had been admitted to their ſociety, I have no manner of doubt of the wonderful effects his eloquence would have wrought. Even if they had allowed him a ſight of the country, a man of his taſte would have brought us home ſome curious American memoirs; but, alas! he was not only diſappointed in that wiſh, but in one of a ſtill gentler kind. I mean, Sir, a *Flirtation Treaty*, which he *attempted* to negotiate with a celebrated female

male politician, the *Meſſalina of Congreſs.* I ſay attempted, Sir; for, unfortunately even there too his Excellency met with as cold a reception. Unfortunately! for, had the Lady indulged him with a *hearing*, or even a *ſight*, what ſurer line to lay the foundation of a more laſting connection? But, in ſhort, Sir, whether from fate or inſufficiency, the affair dropt, and the *Flirtation Treaty* fell to the ground ——— ——— Sir, I trouble the houſe very ſeldom, and with as few words as poſſible——my opinion continues to be what it invariably has been, with reſpect to America—this country may be deprived of its intereſts, its dignity, and its honour; but as I never can give my aſſent to a voluntary ſurrender of them, I moſt heartily agree in the ſupport which the addreſs propoſes to afford to his M——y.

Mr. *T. T-wnſ-nd* roſe, and with great vehemence arraigned the levity of the Right Honourable Gentleman who ſpoke before him; he thought it highly indecent, at this important criſis, when the very exiſtence of this country is at ſtake, that any Gentleman ſhould endeavour to raiſe a laugh, and turn the momentous deliberations of that day into ridicule. Under ſuch circumſtances, in his opinion, jocularity was flagitious, and wit became blaſphemy. He had, himſelf, ſat in three P-rl—m-nts, and he appealed to the candour

Mr. T. T-wnſ-nd

candour of that houſe, whether in that length of time he had once raiſed a laugh, or on any occaſion intentionally diſtorted the muſcles of any Honourable Member? "No Sir, the true deſign of our meeting here, is for far other purpoſes than thoſe of calling forth the riſibility of Honourable Gentlemen: a riſibility at any time highly improper for this houſe, but particularly ſo at this tremedous, this diſgraceful moment.—It is with the higheſt aſtoniſhment that I now ſee Gentlemen ſhifting their places, as if already tired of public buſineſs, or afraid to look into the deplorable and calamitous ſituation of this country; nay, ſo great is their inattention to their duty in P-rl—m-nt, that, upon my riſing, I find the houſe almoſt cleared—where are the Members?—I am afraid—at dinner! Is this a time for revelling in taverns, when the dignity of the Imperial Crown of this country is violated, and much harm done to our merchants?—Is this a time for revelling, when the glory of Britannia, Sir, I ſay, is ſullied, and when Sir, the French are riding on your narrow ſeas."——He then entered into a copious detail of the blunders of Adminiſtration, with reſpect to Falkland's Iſlands, the Middleſex Election, Corſica, and the maſſacre in St. George's Fields, Gibraltar, and Mr. Horne's impriſonment; together with curſory

ſory obſervations on the illegality of impreſſing, the bad policy of Lotteries, the fatal example of the Juſtitia, and the tremendous perils to this devoted country from the frequent exhibition of the Beggar's Opera.———At length, returning a little cloſer to the queſtion, he again animadverted on the ſurpriſing inattention of the Houſe: "Yet Sir, (he exclaimed) before I ſit down, let me aſk Miniſters a few queſtions—I do not expect any anſwer, to them, yet I will aſk them——Is Dominica the only one of our Weſt India Iſlands now in the poſſeſſion of France? Are we to go on for ever with the American war;—Who are our allies?—Is Omiah to pay us another viſit?—Where is Sir Harry Cl-nt-n?——How is the Czarina effected?—What will D'Eſtaign do after Chriſtmas?——Where will the Breſt fleet be next ſummer?———If Miniſters will not, and I know they dare not, anſwer theſe queſtions, then Sir, how, in God's name, can they refuſe the papers called for by the noble Lord's Amendment? From thoſe papers, I pledge myſelf to the houſe, the whole of theſe nefarious proceedings will be brought to light—diſcouraged, as I well might be, from again pledging my perſon, (having been the conſtant and unredeemed pledge of this Houſe, for one thing or another, for theſe one and twenty

years laſt paſt,) I repeat it, Sir, I will pledge the reverſion of myſelf, that theſe papers will furniſh us with all neceſſary and conſtitutional information.—And, for theſe reaſons, Sir, the Amendment meets with my moſt hearty concurrence.

Mr. V-n-r. Mr. *V-n-r* profeſſed himſelf to be one of the independant Country Gentlemen, and took occaſion to inform the houſe, that five Indiamen arrived in the River Thames about ſix weeks ago.—He ſaid he embraced this earlieſt opportunity to repeat his offer of fifteen ſhillings in the pound, if Miniſters would but ſeriouſly go on with the war, which, for his part, he now conſidered in a new point of view—for, as a great ſtateſman had once boaſted to have conquered, in his time, America in Germany, ſo he would hope and believe, that we, in our days, might conquer France in America.—And here, from regretting the loſs of that great ſtateſman, he fell into a train of melancholy thoughts, which led him inſenſibly to a pathetic eulogy on the memory of his dear departed friend, the well-known Mr. *Van*.—"A long courſe of congenial ſtudies (he exclaimed, with torrents of tears and frequent ſobs) had entwined our hearts in political ſympathy—we had but one idea between us!—Yes, Sir, I repeat it, but one—Well therefore may I ſay with the Poet,

In

In infancy our hopes and fears
Were to each other known,
And friendſhip in our riper years,
Had twined our hearts in one."

Here he broke off, oppreſſed with a flood of tears, while a confuſed noiſe of *encore* and *order* reſounded from ſeveral parts of the houſe. At length, when the uproar began to ſubſide, and Gentlemen became collected enough to proceed on buſineſs,

Hon. T. L———l roſe, and with great ſolemnity, addreſſed himſelf to the chair in the following words:——" Notwithſtanding the general ſilence, which, I find, it is the faſhion for Miniſters of this day not only to hold themſelves, but likewiſe to encourage in others, on the important ſubject of maritime affairs, I cannot, Sir, acquieſce in ſo culpable a ſilence, nor content myſelf with ſitting ſtill, until the cloſe of the debate, to be numbered with the tacit votes in its diſfavour. Sir, the Navy, I have ever conſidered not only as the true and conſtitutional ſafe-guard of this inſular territory, but as the very ſpirit and ſoul of all traffic, the quinteſſence of merchandize, and indeed, I may ſay, the palladium of commerce. With this view, Sir, my ſtudies have ever tended to the inveſtigation of the origin of that ſtupendous piece of mechaniſm, a ſhip. ———Noah, Sir, was, in my opinion, the Hon. T. L-tu-l.

firſt circumnavigator—(I beg to be underſtood, I mean no reflection on the memory of Sir Francis Drake)—he was therefore, Sir, juſtly entitled to the higheſt ſituation in the naval department of that early period—take him for all in all, we ſhall not look upon his like again—though, in truth, there are traits in his character not totally diſſimilar to ſome leading features of the noble Earl who is now at the head of that department—But it is not for me to draw the parallel.

Sir, The Phœnicians

It was a cuſtom alſo among the Chaldeans and the Nazareens

Recollect,

Recollect, Sir, when news was brought to the Perſians

So the Macedonians

In like manner the Lacedemonians, and the Athenians

Thus

Thus too the Carthagenians

Here let me call your attention to the Romans and Syracufians

Need I remind you of the northern hive, or trouble you with the Goths and Vandals?

So too, Sir, the Chineſe

At length, Mr. Sp—k—r, the Danes, Dutch, Swedes, Venetians, Nepolitans, Spaniards, French, Portugeſe, Muſcovites, Turks, Saracens, and others, that I ſkip over to avoid tedioufneſs

And to bring it home to our feelings, the ancient Britons, hardy Welch, Mileſians, wild Iriſh, Saxons, Picts, Normans, Engliſh, and *Regattaites* ruſh upon our minds, and

From

From this hiſtorical deduction, I cannot but think, Sir, navigation highly neceſſary, highly favourable to liberty.

If, Sir, I wanted any additional reaſon for oppoſing the addreſs, it would beſt ariſe from the ſhameful neglect and inattention to thoſe brave and humane French officers, (particularly the Captain of the Licorne,) lately on their parole at Alresford, half of whom, indeed, miniſtry have cruelly ſuffered to run away. Beſides, Sir, let us advert to the wretched deficiency in our late naval equipments.——— I have it, Sir, from undoubted authority, that the ſeveral ſhips crews laboured under a total deprivation of Tobacco. Tobacco! that ſtaple commodity of our once flouriſhing ſubjects, now, alas, our avowed enemies, in Virginia, and the Southern colonies.—Sir, not only the quota of Gin was miſerably retrenched, but adultery, ſo congenial to the *Noah* of this day, pervaded every keg in the Royal Navy.—Sir, I myſelf know it for a fact, that the ſpeaking trumpet of the Albion was ſent out in ſo wretched a condition, that,

that, in haling a fiſhing-boat, (I believe a cod-ſmack) off Scilly, the ſecond mate cracked his pipe, and half the crew have been hoarſe ever ſince--ſome of your ſhips, Sir, wanted their complement of Chaplains: --and in others, I will not ſay that I know there were not ſurgeons, but I will ſay, I do *not* know that there were. Sir, more fatal conſequences have ariſen from a ſtrange neglect of vegetables--Potatoes, radically rotten! --Carrots, diabolically dry!--Turnips, totally tough!--Parſnips, pitifully putrid! ———Scurvy Sir, Scurvy, like the angry Dæmon of Peſtilence, has lighted up everlaſting bon-fires in the blotched brows and cicatracious cheeks of your ſcarified ſeamen; ſo that every crew has flaſhed contagion, and reeked like a floating Peſt-houſe, with the baneful exhalations of diſeaſe.--And now, Sir, that I'm on my legs, a word or two to trowzers--Such is the pitiful œconomy of Adminiſtration, ſuch the paltry treachery of Contractors, that, what from an original coarſeneſs of yarn, what, from the more pernicious and ſlovenly texture of the workmanſhip, not a trowzer but gaped with lacerations, whoſe expanded apertures diſcovered what———the P-rl--m-nt-ry decorum of this houſe, forbids me to reveal.

Spurred on by ſuch powerful incentives, I take this earlieſt occaſion to give notice to

the houſe, that I ſhall move, on this day fortnight, for the houſe to reſolve itſelf into a Committee, in order to take into conſideration the ſeveral weighty grievances, the outline of which I have juſt now had the honour to give you a rude ſketch.--When, I ſhall alſo move you, Sir, that the ſeveral Malſters, Diſtillers of Gin, Venders of Tobacco, Traders in Trowzers, Retailers of Rum, Picklers of Pork, and Purveyors of Potatoes, together with their ſeveral ſervants, followers, apprentices and retainers, be ordered to attend this houſe *de die in diem*, to anſwer all ſuch queſtions and matters touching the ſaid enquiry, as ſhall be put to them by the Committee ſo to be appointed.---In the mean time, Sir, I ſhall give my hearty concurrence to the noble Lords Amendment, as promiſing to afford ſome degree of preliminary information, which may tend to illuſtrate the more important matter in the Enquiry which I have now propoſed to ſet on foot.

Mr. P--nt--n. Mr. *P--nt--n*, in reply, begged pardon for troubling the houſe, but hoped they would indulge him in a few words, as he felt himſelf particularly called on to anſwer ſome reflections which the Honourable Gentleman, who had ſpoke laſt, had thought proper to throw out againſt that board where he had the honour to ſit.---He ſaid, that, at the time of the fitting out of Mr. K-pp-l's

fleet

fleet, he had made it his buſineſs to be very much at Portſmouth, where, though it was a taſk exceedingly repugnant to his private feelings and taſte, he had, however, conſidered it as an official ſervice incumbent on one in his department, to perſonally experiment the ſeveral proviſions and ſtores prepared for that equipment. That, impelled by ſuch motives, he had, on ſeveral occaſions, drank the ſmall and ſtrong beer, not unfrequently taſted the gin; and ſometimes ſmoak'd, nay chewed the tobacco; that, in his humble opinion, they were all ſuper-excellent in their ſeveral kinds. And, as to the imputed delinquency relative to potatoes, he could aſſure the houſe, he had bought up ſeveral tuns of the ſame ſpecies, for the conſumption of his own family---nay, he would go further, he would venture to acquaint that houſe, that with ſome of thoſe very identical potatoes, he had lately had the happineſs and honour to regale a certain Great Perſonage, then his gueſt; a perſonage indeed of too high a rank to have his name even alluded to, though on ſo weighty, and ſo important a buſineſs.

Mr. B-rke———I muſt confeſs, Sir, notwithſtanding my long and melancholy experience of the preſent adminiſtration, I cannot hear, without aſtoniſhment, the language held forth by the ſpeech, and echoed in this day's debate. This ſeſſion, Sir, at a Mr. B—

period big with horror, pregnant with ruin to this country, is uſhered in with the ſong of triumph; and parliament are bid to rejoice at a time when nothing but the language of deſpair is to be heard throughout the nation. Surely, Sir, the hour is at laſt arrived, when humility and moderation ought to take place of pride and confidence; when, inſtead of launching further into a ſea of troubles, we might be content to try what little can be ſaved from the wreck of national honour and proſperity. Miniſters might at length condeſcend to tell us, what means are left to avert the gathering ruin; how we are to tread back the mazes of error and folly, through which we have been led; and where are the reſources from which one gleam of hope might dawn upon us, in the hour of danger and deſpair---But, deaf to the ſolemn call of occaſion and neceſſity, they rejoice in the abſence of thought, in the contempt of foreſight. Like the wretch who ſeeks in ſtupefaction a momentary relief from ſorrow, they ſink from a voluntary intoxication into a torpid inſenſibility. The illuſion, indeed, is not to be confined within the narrow limits of their own minds; its baneful influence muſt be circulated through every corner of the nation; and, by a ſhameful perverſion, that anxiety for the public welfare, which, in

times

times like theſe, is, in my opinion, the higheſt of public virtues, muſt be amuſed with the pageantry of domeſtic warfare, or lulled by the opiate of our American Gazettes. I own, Sir, even on principles of criticiſm, I cannot but conſider the ſtile of theſe Miniſterial annals, as no very favourable criterion of the preſent times. In happier days, their characterestic was plain conciſeneſs. Victories were then to rapid, too numerous, to admit of a dilated relation.—Succeſs is ſeldom tedious: but, I am afraid, our higheſt atchievements have amounted to no more than the inroads of ſavages, or the depredations of pirates.--Upon my word, Sir, though we may cenſure our Officers, our Miniſters at leaſt ſhew ſome generalſhip; if they cannot deceive the enemy, they are prompt enough to miſlead their countrymen; though they diſcover but little ſkill in the arrangement of armies, they have an admirable talent in marſhalling Gazettes. They have given celebrity to ſheepſtealing, and blazoned, in all the pompous prolixity of oſtentatious phraſeology, the important depredations at—*Martha*'s Iſland —Certainly, Sir, the gallant Commander of that expedition may vie in paſtoral atchievements with Ajax, with Jaſon, or at leaſt Don Quixote; and, if he does not obtain a triumph, he is clearly entitled to an *ovation*.

Not,

Not, Sir, that I mean to caſt any reflection on thoſe Officers and Soldiers to whoſe lot theſe ridiculous ſervices have fallen--they, no doubt, have effected every thing that the bravery of the Britiſh troops in ſuch a ſituation could accompliſh; but the Hand of Nature, Sir, has thrown in their way obſtacles which it was not in the moſt obſtinate valour, in the moſt conſummate wiſdom to ſurmount. It is a want of confidence in the directors of this war that has chilled every vein, and ſlackened every ſinew of military enterprize. Beſides, Sir, if I may be permitted to indulge a little ſuperſtition, there is a certain fatality attending the meaſures of Adminiſtration: through all their bungling operations of war, through all their wretched plans of peace, the evil Genius, Sir, of this country, ſeems to haunt their footſteps. He it is that has ſuffered them to wander on, undiſmayed by danger, unabaſhed by reproaches, from one abſurdity to another, 'till our blunders and our follies have at length reared that ſtupendous fabric of American Empire that now engroſſes the attention, and claims the wonder of mankind. Allow me, Sir, to pauſe for a moment, while I contemplate this phœnomenon of modern ages, this new conſtellation in the weſtern hemiſphere; a mighty and extenſive empire, not riſing by ſlow degrees and from ſmall beginnings,

nings, but burſting forth at once into full vigour and maturity; not cheriſhed in the ſoft lap of peace and commerce, but ſhaking off in its outſet the long eſtabliſhed dominion of a powerful maſter, and thriving in the midſt of carnage and deſolation. "Ab "ipſo ducit opes animumq. bello." If we view them in another light, as completely enthroned in ſovereignty, as receiving embaſſies from diſtant potentates, as forming leagues with the princes and ſtates of Europe, we ſhall find more abundant matter for ſelf-humiliation—I could wiſh to ſhut my eyes on the ſcene that follows: The parent baffled and depreſſed, imploring pardon of her injured and alienated children, yielding to their ſucceſsful reſiſtance, what ſhe had denied to their prayers and petitions, and offering every conceſſion ſhort of a total emancipation; but ſcorned and rejected in her turn, not (as ſhe had rejected them) with rudeneſs and inſolence, but with firmneſs and with dignity; and convinced, at length, that the day of conciliation is paſt, and that the groundwork of peace can only be laid on the broad baſis of equality and independance.

Is this the unconditional ſubmiſſion the noble Lord in the American department ſo prodigally announced? This is indeed unconditional ſubmiſſion, but unconditional ſubmiſſion from Great Britain to America.

Gentlemen

Gentlemen may remember how often my voice has preached peace within theſe walls; how often it has warned adminiſtration to healing meaſures, while the wounds of America might yet have been cloſed. I will ſtill repeat it, 'till the echo of this houſe ſhall be conſcious of no other ſound; Peace, Peace, Peace, is ſtill my object.

It is now high time, Sir, that Gentlemen ſhould awaken to a ſenſe of our danger, that Parliament ſhould diſcard thoſe wretched ſchemes of ſhort-ſighted policy, which cannot, in our preſent ſituation, afford even a temporary refuge. As yet, we experience only the beginnings of our ſorrows; but the ſtorms of adverſity are gathering faſt around us, and the veſſel is ſtill truſted to the direction of Pilots, whoſe ignorance and obſtinacy has been manifeſt to all the world. ——What thanks, Sir, to the vigilance of our Rulers, that we are not already ſunk beyond the poſſibility of redemption? What thanks to them, that the flower of our army and navy, and with them all the hopes of Britain had not withered before the power of a lately dejected but now triumphant enemy? Is it owing to their care that the rich produce of the Weſtern Iſles has not flowed into every harbour of France?

No, Sir, it is the hand of Providence that wards off for a while the ruin of this declining

ning empire. It is Providence alone that has preſerved our gallant Admirals in America, by an almoſt miraculous interpoſition. — It is due to Providence alone, that the heart-ſtrings of our commerce are not cut aſunder by the ſword of our adverſaries.

I own, Sir, I cannot join in an implicit approbation of ſuch miniſters: I muſt be a little better acquainted with their merits before I can place an unlimited confidence in their wiſdom and diſcretion; that diſcretion which has led us into a labyrinth of difficulties; that wiſdom that cannot find a clue for our deliverance.

Mr *D-nn-ng* ſaid a few words, which, from the learned gentleman's being particularly hoarſe owing (as has been ſuggeſted) to a violent cold, and a multiplicity of buſineſs in Weſtminſter-hall, we could not collect with the accuracy that we wiſh to obſerve on every occaſion. His language was neat and pointed, though ſomewhat tinctured with profeſſional pedantry: his arguments ſeemed ingenious, though perhaps too refined for the comprehenſion of his auditors. He had much antitheſis, much verbal gingle, and many whimſical climaxes. He talked of Mr. D-nn--g.

the competency or incompetency of the Houſe to the diſcuſſion of the preſent queſtion; of the materiality or immateriality of the propoſed amendment; of the reſponſibility or irreſponſibility of Miniſters. He ſaid, he neither aſked, nor knew, nor cared to what the preſent queſtion might ultimately tend; but of this he was confident, that it's propriety was clearly evinced, and it's neceſſity irrefragably proved by that oppoſition which purported to baffle it.--Upon the whole, his harrangue ſeemed to be a medley of legal quibble and quaint humour.

Mr. S-r G--l.

Mr. *S-ll-c-t-r-G-n-r-l*, CONTRA, began with *declaring*, that when he *tuk* his preſent office, he *underſtud* it to be a *General Retainer*, to *ſhew cauſe* in behalf of Adminiſtration: That, therefore, he hoped to be favoured with a few words by way of *replication* to his learned friend: That he might in this caſe have inſiſted on *want of notice*, but, for the ſake of candour in practice, he would waive that objection; for, that he had no doubt, on the merits, but that *judgment wud be given* in his favour: *Proteſting*, that the ſpeech was *warranted* by *precedent*, and had *the highbeſt authority* in it's ſupport: *Proteſting* alſo, that no *gud* objection *cud* be made to the addreſs, as it ſtrictly purſued the very words of the ſpeech. He *juſtified*, *under*

an

an immemorial cuſtom, that Adminiſtration *have been accuſtomed to have, and ſtill of right ought to have*, certain echoes in this Houſe, called *Addreſſes*. -- He admitted, that *true it was*, there had been ſome *errors in our proceedings* with reſpect to America; but he was informed, and believed, that Sir Henry Clinton intended to have a *new trial*. As to the cauſe of Great Britain *verſus* France, he had been given to underſtand and be informed, that the place in which the *treſpaſs* was ſuppoſed to have been committed, was, PARCEL of the Iſland of Dominica, *in parts beyond the ſeas*; which place ſaid French, with force of arms, to wit, with ſhips of divers guns, drums, trumpets, bayonets, hand grenades, and cartridge boxes, had broken and entered, *doing nevertheleſs as little damage on that occaſion as they poſſibly cud*: but that he was clearly of opinion, that if the troops of ſaid France ſhould *traverſe* the Channel, and lay *a Venue* in Kent or Suſſex, *iſſue might be joined* by the militia at Cox-Heath; and, in that caſe, *afterwairds*, if verdict *ſhud* be given in our favour, the adverſe party would ſuſtain heavy and exemplary *damages*. — He concluded with *averring*, that he approved of the addreſs in it's preſent form; and that he ſhould *demur* to the amendment moved by the Noble *Lud*,

as *multifarious. uncertain, inſufficient, and informal.*

Mr. F-x. Mr *F-x* now roſe; and, with that extent of information, refined perſpicuity, and vehemence of eloquence, by which he ſo invariably commands the attention and admiration of the Houſe, entered at large into the ſubject of debate.

To do juſtice to the force of his reaſoning, or elegance of his ſtile, is totally beyond the utmoſt efforts of the editor. — All that he can attempt is, to give an imperfect ſketch of an inimitable original.——He began with lamenting the accompliſhment of that ruin, which, from time to time, he had too juſtly predicted. He confeſſed, that little merit could be aſcribed to thoſe prophecies; which, however chimerical and viſionary miniſters had affected to conſider them, were, in fact, no more than plain deductions of what muſt neceſſarily enſue from their own meaſures. He proceeded to recapitulate the conduct of Adminiſtration ſince the prorogation of Parliament; particularly obſerving on the impolitic removal of the troops from Philadelphia at the moment, when, if ever, their continuance *there* might have effected ſome good purpoſe. The concealment of that intended evacuation, even from the Commiſſioners themſelves, was a part (he ſaid) of that

ſyſtem

ſyſtem of duplicity and deception which pervaded the whole of miniſterial conduct. Poſſibly, indeed, Miniſters were aware, that gentlemen of high character and eſteem would not have become the executive tools of a plan ſo wretchedly concerted. The Commiſſioners therefore were not ſuffered to participate in counſels, which, if they had known, they muſt have deſpiſed. Nor was folly more conſpicuous in the origin than in the proſecution of this paltry diſengenuous plan. Sir Henry Clinton, to whoſe courage and conduct every praiſe is due, was ordered to return to New-York. Encumbered with baggage, and purſued by an army ſuperior in numbers, he made his way thro' the almoſt impervious foreſts of that country; and, by a miraculous effort, not only ſecured his retreat, but in the Jerſeys had the good fortune to reſiſt the enemy with ſome ſucceſs — a ſucceſs however, which, without diſparaging the Britiſh troops, muſt in great part be attributed to General Lee; who, in conſequence of his miſconduct in that affair, was immediately put in arreſt, and afterwards ſuſpended for the ſpace of a year.

He went on with ridiculing the circumſtance of a fleet of Victuallers having been ſent to Philadelphia, after the army, which was to be ſupplied by that fleet, had been ordered

ordered to evacuate Philadelphia. — That fleet, he ſaid, had narrowly eſcaped being taken in the Delaware; and, thence, he argued Miniſters were as culpable, as if, in conſequence of the capture of that fleet, the army, then arrived at New-York, had famiſhed for want of thoſe proviſions, on which their future ſubſiſtance was wholly dependant.

He ſaid, he was yet to learn what plan Adminiſtration could pretend to alledge they had followed, or meant to follow, in America. Upon what grounds could they attempt to proſecute an *offenſive* war? Or, taking the alternative, how can they preſume to ſay they have acted on the *defenſive?* ------As to the firſt, they have thirty thouſand men to conquer the continent of America: admitting then the ſuperiority of their army and their navy, ſtill he contended that ſuperiority had been, and ever muſt be ineffectual and uſeleſs; becauſe, as long as the Engliſh army and navy co-operate, the Americans will never have the unneceſſary temerity to give up the advantage of ſituation, or expoſe their cauſe to the hazard of one deciſive engagement. The laſt campaign was the cleareſt proof of that poſition; and, now, though our fleet was ſuperior to the French, yet D'Eſtaign is ſafe at Boſton.---. It was, on that principle, he doubted not-

the

the gallant and experienced Commanders of the laſt campaign had formed their conduct: It was their policy, and, in his opinion, the beſt policy, to keep a collected force, and to avoid any inferior exertions, that might require a ſeparation, or weaken that ſuperiority, which, in caſe of a deciſive action, they rightly judged could alone have been fatal to American reſiſtance.---It remained for General Clinton to purſue a contrary policy.---Yet, though (he declared) no man in that houſe entertained a higher reſpect for the perſonal and profeſſional merit of that able Commander, (who from his particular talent for military enterpriſe, and his education under the Prince of Brunſwick, was beſt calculated for effecting ſuch a plan) yet, from the minuteſt inveſtigation of the late Gazettes, he could not collect any very auſpicious preſage of his military career. If indeed, from his obſervation, of what had already happened, he might hazard an opinion of what may happen, we had no reaſon to rejoice at the revival of that plan of ſeparation, which had proved ſo fatal in the Northern expedition. He was ſorry he had mentioned that expedition---It led him to a ſubject he wiſhed to avoid.---He had been accuſed of an aſperity of reflexion on the conduct of the noble Lord who planned that expedition; he would ſtrive, in fu-

ture,

ture, to overcome his indignation, by indulging his contempt for the Adviſer of it. ---Yet, thus much he would ſay; though unhappy for this country, it was happy for our troops, happy for our officers, to be directed and controlled by a Miniſter, to whoſe wiſdom not even Envy could aſcribe one particle of their ſucceſs, in whoſe imbecillity even Juſtice would afford them an aſylum from every diſgrace.

Having thus ſtated the impracticability of an offenſive war in America, either on the former plan of united force, or on the preſent of ſeparate efforts, he recurred to the other part of his argument, whether Adminiſtration could pretend to alledge their having adopted the alternative, and formed even a defenſive plan for America and the Weſt-Indies?———If they dared to aſſume that merit, how could they expect the Houſe to attend, with any degree of patience, to ſuch a mockery of all truth? On any rational plan of mere defence, would they not have left a force at New-York, Rhode-Iſland, and Hallifax, fully able to prevent any attack in that quarter; at the ſame time, detaching a ſufficient force to protect the Weſt-India Iſlands?—Upon ſuch a plan, would not any ſpirited Miniſter have grafted ſome degree of activity and enterpriſe? Would He not have attacked Martinique, Guadaloupe,

loupe, or St. Domingo? Such conduct would have ſtruck terror to France, we ſhould have been enriched by new acquiſitions, or, at leaſt, have prevented the diſgrace of our own loſſes.

But, admitting that this defenſive plan may have been but recently adopted, how are Adminiſtration to regain the time they have loſt, or what reſources of finance are ſtill unexhauſted to proſecute even this plan? Are all the Country Gentlemen equally diſpoſed to devote fifteen ſhillings in the pound to carry on this defenſive war? Are they all equally delighted with the great and growing ruin of an accumulating debt and a decreaſing revenue? Or do they reſt their hopes on the wealth of our Eaſt-India trade? Do they know that, there too, the French are undermining the foundation of our commerce? Or is it ſtudiouſly concealed from them, that the French miniſtry have ſent Monſieur Vaugelin to Canton, in the quality of their Conſul at the Chineſe Court? ——He had heard much of a ſudden increaſe of national wealth by our late captures, but, at beſt, the prizes of privateers are a partial benefit; they can enrich but a few individuals; they afford no diminution of the general burthens of a whole people. In the preſent inſtance, the truth was theſe boaſted prizes were, in fact, public loſſes;

the French having had the art to inſure their moſt valuable ſhips, particularly the Indiamen, by Engliſh policies---beſides, that ſeveral of the richeſt captures were actually freighted with conſignments to Engliſh merchants.

But, ſuppoſing this extraordinary ſpirit of bounty ſhould become general among the Country Gentlemen, and that, to ſupport a war which had totally loſt the original object of revenue, for which they had been tempted to engage in it; ſuppoſing they were all well inclined to a land-tax of fifteen ſhillings in the pound, and determined to overflow the Exchequer with an extraordinary redundance of profuſion, yet would they be particularly happy that all that wealth ſhould be portioned out to ſubſidiſe Hanover, Heſſe-Caſſel, Hanau, Waldeck, Brandebourg-Anſpach, and all the mercenaries of Germany? Or that it ſhould wholly be devoted to ſatiate the monopoliſing avarice of a Ruſſian alliance? You have no force at home--you are almoſt defenceleſs." ———

Col. T-ff-n-ll. (Here he was called to order by Colonel Tuffnell for ſpeaking of the *defenceleſs* ſtate of this country.) Col. *T-ff-n-ll* ſaid, the word *defenceleſs* was, to the laſt degree, improper and diſorderly; for that he himſelf had the command at Dover Caſtle, oppoſite Calais, where, though the country all about

it

it was rather flat, he would not wiſh ſuch a word as *defenceleſs* to be ſent from that houſe to Paris, by any friend of Dr. Franklin's. And, as he was on his legs, he muſt ſay, that word *defenceleſs* was doubly wrong, from the late ſtate of the camps; where, in ſpite of French ſpies, there had been the utmoſt diſcipline, unanimity, peace, and quietneſs; except, indeed, ſome deſertions, much nakedneſs, frequent floggings, and ſeveral duels.

Mr. *F-x* then proceedcd, without any remark on this interruption; and, obſerved, that every petty Landgrave and Margrave had already been exhauſted; they had no more Chaſſeurs, no more mercenary boors, to fight, or rather not to fight, our battles. Ruſſia is frozen up for ſome months; and, not improbably, the courts of Berlin and Vienna would ſufficiently engage her in their Bavarian conteſt; or, at leaſt, not make it adviſeable for her to leſſen the internal defence of a country ſurrounded with ſuch powerful armies. As to the Fleet, how could it be recruited with ſailors or marines? Though even the ſpirit of adventure could inſtantly man every Privateer that had been fitted out, yet the noble Lord at the head of the Admiralty had pretended to palliate his own incapacity and criminal neglect, by alledging it was almoſt impoſſible, even

with an extraordinary bounty, and the utmoſt rigour of an Impreſs and an Embargo, to man the Royal Fleet--the fact was, the minds of the people were obſtinately bent againſt this American war; nay, even againſt a French war, when France became the protector of America.

With ſuch Miniſters, ſuch principles, ſuch plans, ſuch internal reſources, ſuch proſpects of alliance; Gentlemen were now called on to echo the Speech, to panegyrize an Adminiſtration too deſpicable for ſatire, to plunge this devoted country in aggravated ruin, and, with a remorſeleſs diſpair, to *deſolate* what they had found impoſſible to *ſubdue*.

Lord N—th.

L-rd *N-rth.* * Mr. Sp——r, at the ſame time that I agree with many Gentlemen who have ſpoken in the courſe of this day's debate, that the preſent is a very ſerious moment of deliberation, I can by no means join with them in thinking our ſituation is deſperate, though, I confeſs, it is diſtreſſing.

* As the Noble Lord was almoſt the only Speaker on the ſide of Adminiſtration, the Editor felt it the duty of impartiality, after giving ſo many excellent ſpeeches on the oppoſite ſide, to collect this with particular accuracy, which he was the better enabled to do, from the deliberate manner of its being delivered, and the reſpectful attention with which it was received.

Sir,

Sir, in all caſes of diſtreſs or difficulty there is ſome relief to be found in compariſon. Gentlemen who hear me, will admit that this country, in former wars, has been acquainted with unfortunate events. The loſs of ſome of our poſſeſſions, and the failure of enterprizes, marked the onſet of laſt war. Commanders were unſucceſsful, perhaps criminal;—I do not mean to draw a complete analogy between that period and the preſent--I only mean to obſerve, that there has been no difficulty in modern times, from which this Country has not been able to extricate itſelf, when rouzed by a ſenſe of its wrongs, and determined to vindicate its juſtice, its dignity, and its honour.——In ſaying this, I ſhall be told by Gentlemen that we were indebted to a great Character in the midſt of our misfortunes during the laſt war, and that, by his vigour and enterprizing genius, this Country was extricated from her embarraſſing ſituation. I will join heartily in paying that tribute of truth to his memory ———Would to God that ſuch a man were alive at this moment, to ſtep forward with the full exertion of the ſame zeal, and the ſame talents. I would yield to none as a ſecond in the work, though I confeſs my inability to be employed as a firſt.

Sir, the Honourable Gentleman who ſpoke laſt, has gone over ſuch a variety of ground,

and

and has given ſo large a hiſtory of the wickedneſs of Miniſters during the American war, that the aſperity with which he has delivered it, would be a ſufficient reaſon for my ſilence, did I not think it neceſſary, from a duty I owe to this houſe and to my country, to give ſome anſwers to aſſertions which have fallen from him.

Sir, * to the firſt complaint, which the Honourable Gentleman makes, of the Miniſter's concealment from the Commiſſioners of the removal of the troops from Philadelphia, I ſhall only anſwer, that the importance of that proceeding required the niceſt ſecrecy, and (though I do not mean to ſuggeſt the leaſt idea diſadvantageous to the confidence of the Commiſſioners) it is perhaps owing to the ſecret deciſion upon that matter, that the removal of the fleet and army from the Delaware was ſo timely, and ſo effectually executed. And I will add, that (whatever opinions may have been conceived either by the Commiſſioners or any other perſons) the events, which have ſince happened, amply juſtify the wiſdom of the meaſure.——With reſpect to the bad policy, as ſome Gentlemen have called it, of opening a negotiation with a retreating army, will any one tell me, that, had your army and navy been blocked up by

* Here Lord N-rth took up Sir G—y C—p-r's notes.

Monſ.

Monſ. D'Eſtaign's fleet, with the proſpect of all of the latter being utterly deſtroyed in the Delaware, the Congreſs would have been more inclined to treat with your Commiſſioners, than when all were ſafe at New-York?---Were they inclined to negotiate with Lord H-we and Sir William H-we, (who had ſufficient powers) at Philadelphia, after the receipt of the bills, and before the arrival of the new Commiſſioners?——— No, Sir -- no appearances of reconciliation on the part of the Congreſs were ſhewn at that time:---their minds, worked up by their leaders to a ſpirit of enthuſiaſm, indulged the expectation of deſtruction to our fleet, at leaſt, from the powers of France.--- I am free to confeſs, Sir, that when I heard Monſ. D'Eſtaign had arrived in America previous to Admiral Byron, (whoſe fleet had been ſo unfortunately diſperſed) I had little hopes from the temper and inclinations of the Congreſs, that they would be induced to treat; until ſome blow had been ſtruck, and that on our part, of a ſucceſsful nature.--- My confidence was, and ſtill is, Sir, in the people there at large--groaning under the worſt of all tyrannies, involved in a ruinous, and, I maintain, an unſucceſsful war; and driven by their corrupted leaders into a moſt unnatural connection with France; I ſay, Sir, if one ſpark of Britiſh ſenſe and honour

yet

yet remains, if one drop of blood of this country ſtill flows in the veins of the Americans, they will avail themſelves of our liberality, and return to their former happy and enviable ſubordination to this country.

With reſpect to the Fleet of Victuallers, which, the Honourable Gentleman obſerved, had a narrow eſcape from the Delaware, it was ſuppoſed they had ſailed from Corke, ſome time before the orders were ſent from hence for the evacuation of Philadelphia; and it is very lucky they did not ſail for New-York; for, if they had, they would have met with Monſieur D'Eſtaign there.

It has been urged by the Honourable Gentleman, that the American war can be no longer made offenſive; and therefore, if a defenſive one has been adopted, why not leave a ſufficient number of troops for the defence of New-York, Rhode-Iſland, Halifax, and the Floridas? and ſtrike ſome blow at the French Settlements in the Weſt-Indies.—Gentlemen will recollect the little time that has elapſed ſince the evacuation of Philadelphia, the attack and defence of Rhode-Iſland, and the tranſactions between Lord Howe's and D'Eſtaign's Fleet, and they will ſee how difficult it was to be at a great many places at the ſame time.—With reſpect to Dominica, Sir, the loſs of it is certainly

certainly a misfortune, but, I truſt, only a temporary one. There can be no blame laid upon the Miniſters for that event, becauſe, in the very beginning of the war with France, ſhips were ſent ſufficient to make at leaſt a ſuperior force to the French in the Weſt-Indies. I am aware of the force of the argument that will be made uſe of upon this occaſion—Gentlemen will ſay, You have ſo many places and poſſeſſions to guard, that many of them muſt be vulnerable; and therefore it is impoſſible to go on in a war with France and America at the ſame time, with any reaſonable expectations of ſucceſs.—This argument will lead me to enter a little into what I conceive to be our actual ſituation at home and abroad.---With reſpect to this country, Sir, it is protected by a fleet ſuperior to the French.--It contains, to the honour of thoſe who have ſacrificed domeſtic eaſe to public ſpirit, a very fine army, including the regulars, of 50,000 men.--Your ſhips of trade and merchandiſe have arrived ſafe and unmoleſted; whilſt the Privateers and Letters of Marque have made conſiderable havoc upon the property of our enemies.——And here I muſt remark upon two obſervations which have fallen from the Honourable Gentleman who ſpoke laſt.--The firſt, with reſpect to the number of ſailors who have entered on board theſe

ſhips at a time when there was ſo much difficulty in manning the fleet, and which is a charge of ignorance in obtaining them upon the Admiralty. -- Sir, the bounty which has been given to ſeamen by individuals, to enter on board Privateers and Letters of Marque, has been enormous -- I have been told 10 l.--15 l.--and 20 l. a-man. -- This, with the expectation of the larger ſhare of prize-money received by leſſer veſſels, has been a ſufficient inducement to men to enter on board thoſe ſhips.——Upon the other obſervation, that the prizes we have taken conſiſt chiefly of Britiſh property, and are inſured here--I ſhall only remark, that the Merchant here who employs French ſhipping and French navigation, in preference to the Britiſh, ought to ſuffer. -- But, Sir, with reſpect to inſurance, let us ſee which of the two countries ſuffers moſt on that head. -- The inſurance upon French ſhips homeward bound has been very high.--Upon the French Indiamen, I have heard, ſo high as 75 l. per cent. -- Then, Sir, this being the caſe, if the Frenchman arrives ſafe in France, the Engliſhman gets 75 l. per cent.--If he is taken, he loſes but 25 l. per cent. whilſt his neighbour ſhares the prize entirely.---Surely, therefore, Sir, if beſides this, we conſider that ſuch a difference of Inſurance muſt enable us to greatly underſell the French at all foreign markets, this

country

country has certainly much the beſt of the bargain.--This, however, Sir, great as theſe advantages are, is no reaſon nor no inducement with me for continuing the war. -- I am obliged to recur ſo often to what has been ſaid, that I beg pardon for deviating from the chief object, at leaſt of my conſideration -- that of our actual ſituation at home and abroad. -- I have already ſaid, Sir, that we are ſufficiently defended by our navy and army at home.--We have certainly a greater ſuperiority of both in North America--of ſhips in the Weſt-Indies--ſuperior in the Eaſt-Indies, and ſhall be more ſo when the ſhips now ready to proceed thither, and with troops, are arrived there. -- Sir, there is wealth, I truſt there is likewiſe ſpirit enough in this country, to ſupport us even in a more embarraſſing ſituation than the preſent. And, though Gentlemen may have wiſhed to impeach the ſecurity of this country, I will fairly tell them, that, ſuch is the confidence, even in the hour of her diſtreſs, foreigners of all nations have given, and do give, the preference to our funds ; -- the falling of which, immediately after the opening of the laſt budget, is to be imputed entirely to the jobbing of a good purchaſe at a low bargain, and not to a want of confidence in the nation. I could deduce many reaſons to juſtify me in this opinion ; and I could call upon the Dutch, as the beſt poli-

ticians, in ſupport of it.--Nor, Sir, will I admit the proſpect of ruin to be before us, until I ſee that the juſtice of our cauſe has left us, and that there no longer exiſts that zeal and bravery which have diſtinguiſhed the people of Great Britain, as ſuperior to the reſt of the world——Sir, a great deal has been ſaid by Gentlemen (who have in my idea gone over, unneceſſarily at this time, the whole of the American war) with reſpect to the conduct of it.——I believe, even the moſt inveterate enemies Miniſters may have, will allow that there was tranſported to a greater diſtance, than ever was known before, the fineſt army; that you fed and maintained it at that diſtance; and that, from its excellence and its ſuperiority, you had a right to expect the moſt happy advantages. So far the buſineſs, as it concerned Miniſtry, was well tranſacted. But, Sir, then comes the queſtion--were the plans and the directions to execute them wiſe and practicable?——I cannot but ſay, Sir, for my own part, and, as far as my Judgment went, they were ſo——I do not mean to ſuggeſt any thing invidious towards the Officers to whom commands and reſponſibility were delegated——I am not one of thoſe who eaſily condemn, certainly never will, before I have juſt grounds for doing ſo——If our Army and Navy have not done in every part of the world what was expected of them--

Par-

Parliament can enquire, can approve, or cenſure——This however appears to me but a ſecondary ſubject for our conſideration.

Sir, much has been ſaid with reſpect to the Union of France and America, and the probability there is that Spain will ſoon be a party in it. I will not rob many honourable Gentlemen of the gift of prophecy, of what Spain will do in this conjuncture; but, Sir, ſurely her intereſt and her policy ſhould be to reſiſt the Independance of America—She will never, by protecting rebellion in our colonies, hold out encouragement to her own to follow their example. It is idle, Sir, to indulge the idea of the Spaniſh ſettlements in South America trading with the North Americans, by purchaſing, with Spaniſh Bullion, North American commodities. The Court of Spain is much too wiſe, I think, to adopt ſuch a meaſure. What, Sir, might be the conſequence? An intercourſe and trade between the extremes of that great quarter of the globe might at laſt be united by a centre, and eſtabliſh the greateſt dominion in the World. For, time may produce daring and flagitious characters in that continent alſo, whoſe object it may be to deſtroy the ſovereignty of Spain over her Coloniſts—Neither can I agree with Gentlemen in thinking, that the union of America and France can be laſting. I might as well

ſuppoſe

ſuppoſe that different religions, Liberty and ſlavery, in ſhort, that contrarieties can form a ſyſtem, as admit that unity and harmony can ever laſt between France and America—Neither of the countries expect it--The one ſupports, and the other receives, merely for the temporary purpoſe of diſtreſſing Great Britain——France can have no thoughts of eſtabliſhing herſelf in the Heart of America. And America will only avail herſelf of the aſſiſtance of France, until ſhe is at peace with this Country.

In the mean time, however, our exertions muſt be of a powerful nature to reſiſt this unnatural alliance---And here, Sir, let me return to the conſideration of what is proper to be done in conſequence of his M——ty's ſpeech.

Sir, in giving my entire approbation to what has been propoſed by the Honourable Gentleman in the motion for the Addreſs, I truſt I ſhall be forgiven, if I ſubmit to the Houſe the neceſſity there is at this time of vigour and firmneſs in all our proceedings, in order to give a ſpirit to national exertion. And, whilſt we regret that even our unanimity and liberal offers have not been productive of peaceable accommodation with America, I truſt that her ingratitude may yet meet with the recompence ſuch a conduct has deſerved: in holding out this doctrine,

trine, I mean not to forget that America is ſtill the offspring of Great Britain: that when ſhe returns to her duty, ſhe will be received with open arms, and all her faults be buried in oblivion.

In a word, Sir, the period is arrived, when it is no longer a queſtion who is to be Miniſter, who are to compoſe a party, or who have been to blame. Such diſcuſſions will not probably obtain conviction on either ſide--The day is paſt for reflexions on thoſe who have been alledged to have given confidence to Inſurgency, or on thoſe who have been ſaid to have provoked it. The object of your conſideration is now——the ſalvation of your Country.

For myſelf, Sir, I ſhall no longer deſire to remain in my own ſituation, than his Majeſty, and this Houſe, think I can be uſeful in it. If any one Man will take it from me, He will relieve me from the moſt anxious taſks that any Miniſter probably ever experienced: But, till then, Sir, I look to the ſupport of this houſe, and to that of all good Men in defending and maintaining the glory and honour of Great Britain.

Col. *B-rre* began with recounting his predictions.—I foretold in the out ſet of the American conteſt, that your obſtinacy would eſtabliſh the independance of the colonies. My next prophecy was, that France would join them

Col. Brr-e.

them—Was I wrong?—I will boldly hazard one prediction more---I ſay, Spain ſooner or later will join both——ſuch are the allies of America.--Who are your's? The Onandagas, the Tuſcaroras, and the Choctaws! Theſe are your copper coloured allies, that fix a ſtain on the name of Britain; and diſgrace this country even in victory, as well as defeat--I knew of theſe alliances, and their barbarities, ſo early as the 8th of June laſt. I have a letter from a friend of mine at Ponghkeepſie, of that date;--the Indians, headed by Col. B-tl-r, began their rapine in *Cherry Valley*; parties of *Indians and Tories* (ſo my friend couples thoſe blood-hounds of deſolation) butchered the innocent inhabitants of *Sacandago*, and ſpread ruin and carnage through *Miniſink*--I am ſure, Col. B-tl-r, (who is indeed as gallant and amiable an Officer as ever I knew, and I know him well) never would have embrued his hands in innocent blood, but that he knew he muſt ſacrifice his feelings to the ſpeculative, I do not ſay practical, violence, of the American Secretary. Gen. C-rlt-n loſt the Noble Lord's favour by his abhorrence of the tomahawk and the ſcalping knife:--have not we tried thoſe ſatanic inſtruments of death too long? Is the whole of Miſs *Macreas* race to be ſacrificed? Not one innocent babe left unbutchered to liſp out the tale of

that

that devoted, that unhappy family? Of whom are we now to enquire for any official documents of your war? I ſee no Secretary of War in this houſe? Does the American Secretary monopolize and conſolidate all warlike buſineſs? I hope not.———

Sir, I beg pardon for the heat which I find riſing within me--but the inexorable hour of vengeance is not far diſtant; the heavy load of black and bloody guilt will ſink you all.--The time will come when the thunder of the cannon will be heard at your walls. Examples will be made. The Tower and the Block muſt expiate the crimes of Miniſters. The voice of truth will be heard. The Rubicon is paſſed.——— —— Sir, what is the comparative ſtate of the revenues of France, and of this country? Monſ. Neckar, a very able and a very amiable man, has, I underſtand, found taxes, and not oppreſſive ones, for two years;--is that a fact?--The revenue of this country is diminiſhed--it has been gradually ſo during this deteſtable war --will Miniſters deny it? Good God, Sir, what a ſtate are we in? Dominica loſt!--Sir, Monſieur Bonille was once my particular friend--Sir, he is returned to France for freſh powers and orders--look to your Weſt-India ſettlements, callous as we are, we cannot bear the loſs of them.

Sir, I am aſtoniſhed at the blind credulity of Miniſtry--can they be ſo very ſimple as to truſt to vague compliments againſt thoſe deciſive words of the Pacte de Famille, the Family Compact, "Qui attaque une couronne attaque l'autre;" (I tranſlate for the country Gentlemen) whoever attacks one crown attacks the other.———I know Count Almodovar--I was introduced to him by my old friend, Don Franciſco Buccarelli:--I never ſhall forget dining with him at a kind of Table d'Hotes, in a tavern oppoſite the Eſcurial;--as chance would have it, many more illuſtrious characters dined with us that day; there was the Count, his wife's couſin, and myſelf, on one ſide of the table; --Count Cobentzel, and Baron Reideſdel (who were then on their travels) and Duke de Chartres (who had juſt come from Paris) ſat oppoſite to us--Monſieur de Sartine (who come in the Duke's vis a vis) was at the foot of the table; and we put Buccarelli in the chair——we had an excellent dinner--the wine was good--and we toaſted the Madrid beauties in bumpers of Packeretti--however, I was not ſo far gone but I can very well remember what Almodovar whiſpered in my ear, while *Cobentzel and Reidſdale* were drinking Maxamilian Joſeph of Bavaria's health Colonel (ſays he) *Il alte ſe volto Eſtremadura che molto*--I won't tranſlate it. I

feel

feel the reſpect due to Ambaſſadors.--But, will Miniſtry anſwer a plain queſtion? I put it roundly, becauſe I aſk for a poſitive anſwer--Is there no treaty now on the tapis to cede Gibraltar, or Port Mahon?--I ſay, the neutrality of Spain is to be trucked for by the diſmembring this country of its beſt poſſeſſions.—Here he proceeded to read variety of Gazettes, American News-papers, two or three Treaties, letters from gallant Officers in all parts of the world; accounts of Cl-n-t-n's retreat; tranſactions of Lord H-we, and Monſ. D'Eſtaign; Alderman Oliver's letter--affair at Rhode Iſland, &c. &c. &c. he went alſo into a ſtring of ſimilar ſurmiſes, recognized various intimates in Europe, Aſia, Africa, and America, and interſperſed the whole with a multiplicity of anecdotes, proverbs, quotations, menaces and bon mots --concluding, that having then read to the houſe all the various papers he himſelf could collect, he found it neceſſary to give his vote for the Amendment, as the only way to get at more.

Mr. H. St-y.

Mr. H. *St--y* obſeſved, that many Gentlemen had deviated from the buſineſs immediately before the houſe, which, in his opinion, was merely this: Whether this houſe will or will not ſupport his M——y, and the executive powers of government, in the endeavours to recal the Americans to obedience, and

and to puniſh the natural enemies of this country? * That his own opinion was determined by a conviction of the neceſſity, in this hour of difficulty and diſtreſs, for exertion and firmneſs. Much has been ſaid of the wealth and reſources of France in compariſon of thoſe of England. I can only ſay, Sir, from all the obſervations I have been able to make, that France is, with reſpect to its finances, certainly an impoveriſhed country. It has not yet recovered the impreſſion made by the laſt war; and, whatever Gentlemen may think, neither Monſ. Neckar (whom I very much reſpect) nor any other perſon, will be able, at leaſt for a great length of time, to overturn the old mode of attainment of French money; I mean, Sir, by the vehicle of the *Fermeurs Generaux*. It muſt be a miniſter of great courage indeed, and a King of Terrors, that will new model the French finances; new taxes may be impoſed, but I much doubt of the collection of them. When a good contract has been long in poſſeſſion, it is too ſweet to reſign eaſily; and the *Fermeurs Genereaux* are too important to be offended, eſpecially, when the ſtate is neceſſitated to

* Whilſt Mr. St--y was ſpeaking, Mr. B--g was making numerical criticiſms on the ſtate of the Houſe, which Mr. R-b-nſ-n had done before, with his uſual aſſiduity; and had taken his place at the door accordingly.

have

have recourſe to their aſſiſtance. In ſaying this, I give full credit to Monſ. Neckar for his attempt to improve the revenue of France, and that too, when the attempt is ſurrounded with ſo much difficulty and danger.——The revenue of this country, Sir, has not ſuffered by the American war; the ſurpluſes of the ſinking fund, are as great as during the ſtate of perfect peace with America. Other countries have taken from us thoſe manufactures which we exported before with bounties to America.

As I think Britain is ſtill equal to reſiſt, and, I truſt, to ſubdue all its Enemies, I am clearly for the Motion which has been propoſed, and ſeconded, by the honourable Gentlemen, with ſo much credit to themſelves, and with ſo particular a deſert of the approbation of their Country.

Gen. C-n---y. Mr, Sp——r, I beg pardon for troubling the Houſe with one ſhort word, Sir, at this late hour of the night, Sir, when there are many Gentlemen very deſirous——and much more capable than I am, of ſpeaking--upon ſo material--ſo important--ſo comprehenſive a buſineſs--I may ſay, Sir---as that which now immediately comes before us--for our deliberation.—— In doing this, Sir—in offering my poor ſentiments—upon this matter, Sir——I own, I feel ſome degree of warmth, at the ſu-

Gen. C-n--y.

pineneſs

pineneſs—at the coolneſs—I may ſay—of the Miniſters in ſo dangerous—ſo hazardous—and, God knows, probably ſo deſtructive an hour———And, Sir, I hope I may ſuggeſt my thoughts at ſo critical a period, when, indeed, all Europe and America are convulſed—and ſhaken—by the imbecillity, the inattention, and the indeciſion of Miniſters; who have ſo ſupinely, ſo cooly, and ſo indeciſively ſat *with their hands before them*, waiting for events—and contingencies——In ſaying this, Sir,—I mean not to throw any reflexion upon any of them—Moſt of them I know to be men of honour and ability—but, Sir, I beg pardon, Sir, for taking up the time of the houſe—Sir, I think the moment is paſt when any ſyſtem can prevail, I mean on the part of this country over America. Your Weſt-India Iſlands are unprotected—Dominica is gone—Who knows but Jamaica is gone too? What force have you at Antigua? I underſtand, Admiral Barrington is gone from Barbadoes. What is to become of St. Vincents and Grenada? Good God! Sir, will the Nation ſit ſtill under theſe apprehenſions? Have Miniſters taken care of Ireland? Does the Noble Lord underneath me know the ſtate of Guernſey and Jerſey? Will they be able to reſiſt Count Broglio with 50,000 men? Is your force, particularly

larly at Jerſey, equal to reſiſtance—Sir, at this moment, I tremble for Jerſey*.———

In one ſhort word, Sir, I beg pardon--- I do truſt in God, Sir...in the King...Sir, and in the ſpirit of this unhappy Nation, Sir, that we ſhall be relieved from theſe dreadful apprehenſion, and difficulties, and that we ſhall ſee once more, Peace, Harmony, and Wiſdom, reſume their order in this country, in the ſtead of weakneſs, irreſolution, wavering folly, abſurd doubts, and indeciſion, Sir.

Mr *S--b--ge* ——— Example--impeachment--axes--Tower--blood--Siſter Mac--ly--republicaniſm--Waſhington, greateſt man in the World--will be heard--tyranny at Warley-Common—militia men turned to road-pioneers—undermining trees---ſand in bread---waſte of powder---Middleſex election ---vaſt expence of flints---triennial parliaments---body politic---ill-humours---ſtate-ſurgeons---example---axes---Tower---blood ——— *Da Capo* Mr S--b--ge.

The queſtion being now called for with moſt violent impatience, the Houſe prepared to divide. ———The Editor cannot but lament that the eloquence of the day is compriſeable in ſo ſmall a compaſs.--He re-

* N. B. G—l C——y is Governor of it. —Query, Whether he had not better be there at this dangerous criſis?

grets

grets, with many others, the ſilence of thoſe who might have been ſuppoſed, from attachment, from principle, and a ſenſe of honour, to have taken a more decided part in the debate. Probably it might be conſidered too ſevere to impute the conduct of thoſe Gentlemen to the precarioufneſs of the times, to the expectation of new Adminiſtrations, or to the fretfulneſs of an inſatiable avarice of wealth and power.

Little more remains to add, than that the Houſe having become very clamorous for a diviſion, at half paſt three the queſtion on the Amendment being put, the motion was rejected by a majority of 261 to 148. Tellers for the Ayes, Mr T. T——nd and Mr B—ng—for the Noes, Sir G—y C——r and Mr C—— T——nd. ——The main queſtion being then put, the original Addreſs was carried in nearly the ſame proportion.

Immediately after the diviſion, the H—e were much aſtoniſhed at Mr C——s T-rn-r's calling their attention to a moſt libellous, nefarious, and enormous pamphlet, entitled *Anticipation*, calculated to miſrepreſent the debates, and vilify the proceedings of P——t; obſerving, that the publication

lication of Honourable Gentlemen's ſpeeches *before* they could poſſibly have been ſpoken, was infinitely more dangerous to the conſtitution than miſtating them after they had actually been delivered; as not only the public were thereby much more likely to be deceived, but many country Gentlemen were moſt illegally hurried up to town before the time, to the great annoyance of themſelves and cattle. Beſides, what ſtruck at the very heart-ſtrings of debate, many good ſpeeches were marred thereby, and Honourable Gentlemen ſtopt from repeating their own words, leſt they ſhould authenticate the ſaid publication.

For all which reaſons, he humbly moved, that THOMAS BECKET the Publiſher of a pamphlet, entitled, *Anticipation*, be immediately taken into cuſtody by a Meſſenger of this Houſe, together with all printed books, books of accounts, manuſcripts, memorandums, papers, &c. &c. in his ſhops and warehouſes, in order that this Houſe may be enabled thereby to diſcover the Author or Authors of this very black conſpiracy. He moved alſo, that the ſeveral ſtatutes againſt forgery, coining, and uttering, knowing to be falſe, foreſtallers, and regrators, &c. &c. be forthwith all read. And further——— But, the laughter having now become intenſe, the remnant of his oratory was cut ſhort by a

moſt clamorous repetition of *Adjourn, Adjourn*; ſo that it was impoſſible for the Editor to collect the reſult of this important motion.

And then the Houſe adjourned till the morning, nine of the clock.

FINIS.

10 FE 58